family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. 683 756 The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death.

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. 674 182 The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle.

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. 602 [614] There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. [616] For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. 601 These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother.

[Chaco Period]

601

In the paternal generation there are two terms for ego's father—the referential term *sa'a* and the vocative term *ta'ata*. There are two terms for mother—the referential term *ẽno* and the vocative term *mẽme*. Father's brother is termed *poisa'a* (literally, other father). Father's sister is designated by the descriptive term *mokechansa'a*. Mother's sister is called *poiẽno* (literally other mother) and mother's brother is designated by the descriptive term *ayoẽno*. In addition to these terms for the siblings of parents, the Terena appear to have terms corresponding to uncle and aunt, for father's brother and mother's brother can be termed *eungo* and *lulu*, and father's sister and mother's sister can be termed *ongo*. A completely satisfactory explanation of these uncle and aunt terms cannot be made until more is known about the language and culture of the Terena. They may be respect terms for mother's brother and father's sister which are extended to male and female relatives of the parental generation in the manner in which *ta'ata* and *mẽme* are extended to all older people in the father's and mother's generation.

In ego's generation, male speaking, there are two specific classificatory terms for brother—*enjovi*, older brother, and *andi*, younger brother. Both these terms are extended to male parallel and cross cousins on both the father's and mother's side. A man calls his sisters and female parallel and cross cousins *mongecha*. These terms are reversed when a woman is speaking. In addition, there is a more general term for brother, *lele*, which can be used to designate men of one's own generation of more distant relationship. The term *cucuná* is used for designating a middle brother.

In the children's generation there are terms for son, *djeá*, and daughter, *inziné*, which are extended, male speaking, to the sons and daughters of brothers. Sisters' children are termed *nevongé*, sex being shown by the addition of *hoyeno* (male) and *seno* (female). When a woman speaks the terms are reversed.

There is just one term, *amori*, for grandchildren. *Hoyeno* and *seno* may be added if necessary.

In the parent's generation both classificatory and descriptive terms can be used for affinal relatives. Father's brother's wife may be called *meme* or *yenolulu* (uncle's wife), and mother's sister's husband may be called *ta'ata* or *imaongo* (aunt's

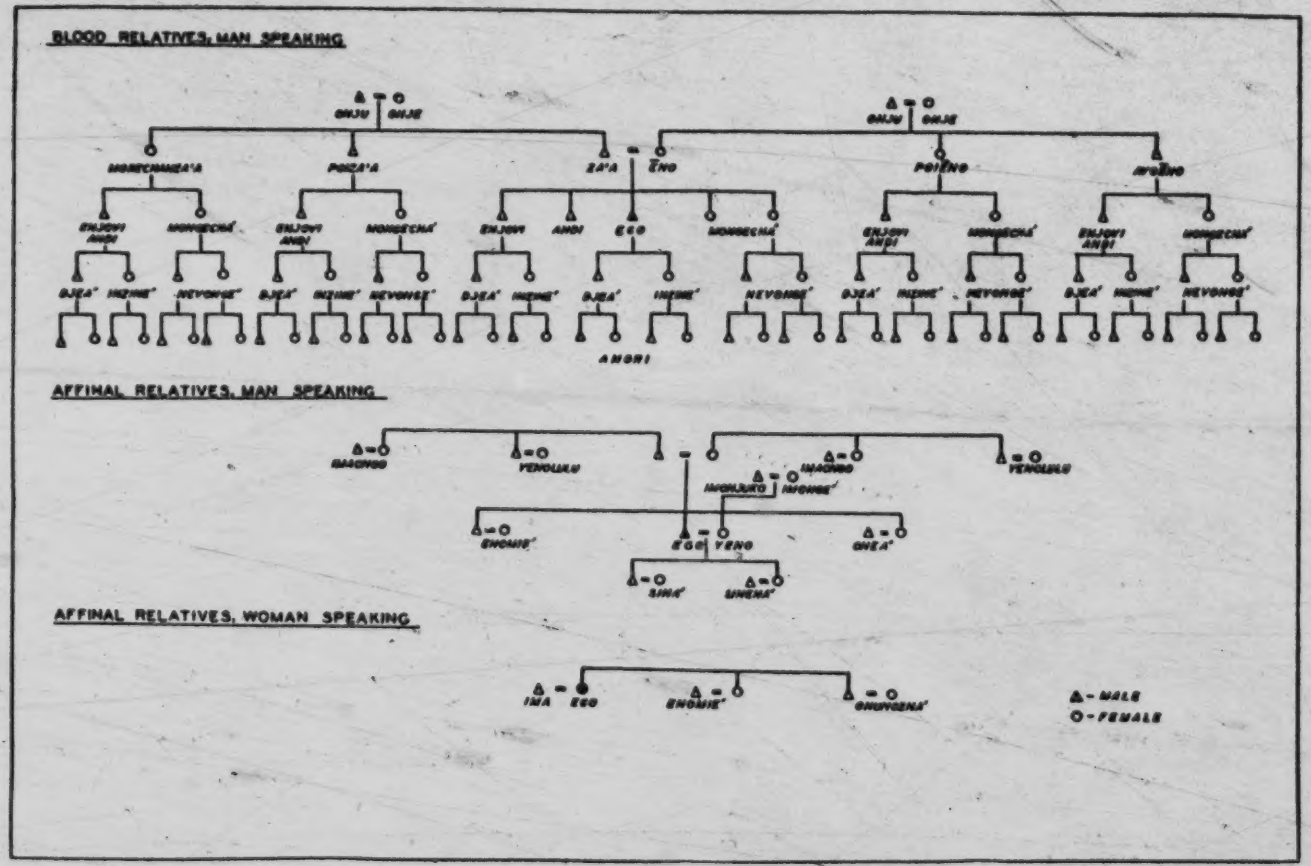

CHART 1.—Terena kinship terms.

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. 587 An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. 595 There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. 591 There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. 105 177 How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. [847]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

"Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

●[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé.-- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

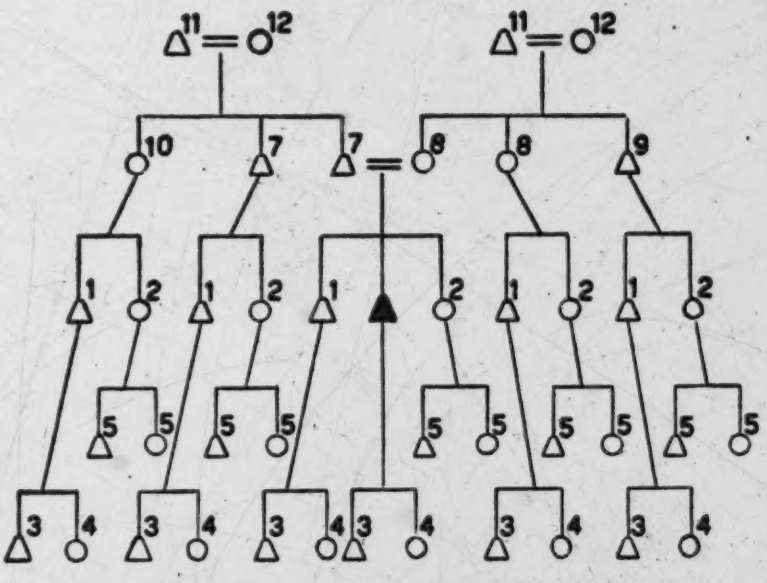

Figure V

(1) Angi, (2) Nongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inxinó, (5) Nevongó, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eano, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onxo. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eano and Nongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eano, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Neene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.